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2005 as the initial year. Unless otherwise noted, we converted data on historical expenditures in dollars to 2003 dollars using the U.S. GDP deflator. We focus on the real costs of implementing our recommendations, considering changes in relative prices. In particular, we assume that productivity increases would counterbalance increases in dollar wages. Our cost estimates account for natural population growth (at annual rates of 3–5 percent), but we have assumed zero net migration. In the event of substantial immigration to an independent Palestinian state, most of the cost estimates would need to be increased to meet the specified development targets for a larger population. The main exception would be the costs for security, which are determined by the security environment and are not directly proportional to the population.

Costs to Implement the Recommendations Described in This Study

As described in the Introduction, we use two approaches to estimating costs: the analogy approach (i.e., using costs of similar programs elsewhere to estimate the likely costs of these programs in Palestine) or parametric estimation (i.e., using relationships between costs and input variables based on historical data from similar projects to create a mathematical model for estimating costs in Palestine). In each case, the details supporting these estimates are provided in the relevant chapters.

Internal Security. We specify a variety of components that would be required for robust internal security. We estimate the costs of these components using analogies based on recent experience with the creation of new internal security institutions in Iraq. This approach results in a cost estimate for establishing and operating the institutions of internal security of \$7 billion to \$7.7 billion over ten years.

Water. The cost estimate is based on a previously developed model, which we have modified based on our best judgment for various scenarios. One of the benefits of a well-developed model is the ability it provides to examine multiple scenarios. The cost of our base case is \$4.93 billion for the ten-year period from 2005 to 2014. However, in an alternative scenario, a combination of higher energy costs and increased population growth raises this estimate to \$5.86 billion. Cost numbers for models based on improvements in the efficiency of water use combined with reducing agricultural use of water in Gaza range from \$3.57 billion for the base case to \$4.03 billion for an alternative scenario in which energy costs are relatively high and the population increases more rapidly.

Health. We use historical Palestinian data as a starting point and develop an incremental cost estimate for external support needed to increase health system spending to a satisfactory level, given health system development needs, population growth, and declines in spending during the second intifada. The total incremental cost ranges from \$1.3 billion to \$1.65 billion for the first ten years of statehood (2005–2014).

Education. We use UNESCO data on the ratio of education spending per student to GNI per capita in three categories of countries (those similar to Palestine with highquality education systems, those similar to Palestine with moderate-quality education systems, and those with different socioeconomic contexts and high-quality education systems) to propose base spending ratios for Palestine, which are multiplied by adjusted GNI per-capita figures for Palestine over the relevant time frame. (Base figures are adjusted for the large investments in capital stock that will be required and for differences between the time transition path of salary levels and the path of GNI per capita.) Palestinian enrollment projections through 2010 are used, supplemented by a youth population growth rate of 5 percent per year for 2010–2014, to calculate annual spending per student and total annual cost. Total annual cost for the Palestinian education system ranges from \$1 billion to \$1.54 billion for 2005–2014. We do not distinguish between donor and national investments.

Other Key Infrastructures. It is important to note that significant investment will be needed in a number of additional areas, for which detailed analysis was outside the scope of this book. While we have not attempted to identify every additional program or investment necessary for a successful state, we provide brief information here about five additional areas where considerable investment will be needed to promote successful development: the Palestinian road network, including a road to connect Gaza and the West Bank; a commercial seaport in Gaza; rehabilitation and expansion of the airport in Gaza; upgrading and expanding the electric power grid; and improving and expanding the Palestinian housing stock. We present a summary discussion here; additional information is in Appendix 9.A.

- Road Improvements. A good system of roads is essential to efficiently move people
 and goods within a Palestinian state and between Palestine and its neighbors. The
 West Bank and Gaza currently have an extensive system of roads, but this infrastructure needs both improvement and expansion. A Palestinian state will also
 require suitable transportation links between the West Bank and Gaza that ensure
 Israel's security. Plausible estimates of the cost of a road linking the West Bank
 and Gaza range between \$500 million and \$1 billion, but we also found estimates
 ranging between \$200 million and \$10 billion.
- Gaza Seaport. Currently, all seaborne shipments of goods and services entering or leaving the West Bank and Gaza go through Israeli ports. If security concerns are resolved, a future Palestinian state would likely build a port in Gaza to facilitate trade. A plausible lower bound estimate of the cost of constructing such a port is \$62 million—the value of a contract tendered in 2000 to build a seaport in Gaza. That seaport project was suspended because of the second intifada.
- Airport. The government of a Palestinian state may choose to construct an airport
 capable of handling commercial aircraft. The existing Gaza airport, built in 1998
 at a cost of \$64 million, was damaged by Israeli forces during the second intifada;
 in 2003, the cost of repair was estimated at \$35 million. To our knowledge, the

Doug Suisman, Steven N. Simon, Glenn E. Robinson, C. Ross Anthony, and Michael Schoenbaum, The Arc: A Formal Structure for a Palestinian State, Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation, MG-327-GG, 2005.

Gaza airport was never equipped to handle substantial commercial traffic, which would require additional investment.

- Electric Power Grid. In a 1999 needs assessment, the World Bank master plan
 "identified investment requirements over the next ten years (exclusive of generation and new transmission lines) totaling more than \$600 million" for Palestine.²
 The costs of building generating capacity and new transmission lines would be
 appreciably more than this figure, especially if Palestine were to replace Israeli
 generating capacity with indigenous plants.
- Housing Stock. Very limited investments have been made in Palestinian housing since the beginning of the second intifada. Square meters per capita—one measure of the adequacy of housing stock—is low in the West Bank and Gaza, even compared with other Middle Eastern countries; and the number of people per room is relatively high. Improvements in the housing stock will involve repairing the existing stock and building new residences to provide for population growth and to reduce crowding. A companion RAND report will explore options for addressing housing and related requirements of a burgeoning Palestinian population.³

Decisions on the timing, size, and priority of major infrastructure investments will need to be made at a national level. In almost all cases, the Palestinian state will need financing from foreign donors and lenders for all large infrastructure projects. Financing will necessitate feasibility and cost studies. Consequently, foreign donors and lenders will be heavily involved in discussions concerning priorities and the design and construction of investment projects.

Additional Areas of Investment. The chapters on governance and demography do not contain explicit cost estimates. However, the activities and policies discussed in these chapters will require additional expenditures. Below are some areas where costs are likely to be incurred.

Governance. This chapter identified some of the issues involved in creating a democratic state with an efficient, responsive government in Palestine. This will entail real financial costs, for conducting elections and establishing and operating the legislative and executive branches of government, among other costs. The chapter does not estimate the costs of these institutional changes, which would be in addition to those discussed above. Some instances of institutional change discussed in that chapter, however, are explored from different angles in other chapters. For example, the Internal Security chapter includes the costs of a judicial system,

² World Bank, Project Appraisal Document on a Proposed Trust Fund Credit in the Amount of \$15.0 Million to the West Bank and Gaza for an Electric Sector Investment and Management Project, Report No. 19603-GZ, August 12, 1999, p. 17.

³ Suisman et al., 2005.

while the Health chapter discusses needs associated with health system development, including strengthening the Palestinian Ministry of Health.

- Demography: This chapter describes demographic trends. While population growth substantially affects the costs of providing government services—for example, health care and education—it does not entail specific costs in and of itself. The chapter also discusses potential immigration to a Palestinian state of Palestinians living in other countries. These inflows could add substantially to the total population in ways that are hard to forecast because of uncertainty about the number and characteristics of the immigrants. In general, substantial immigration to a Palestinian state would increase the costs of achieving the development goals we describe.⁴
- Economic Vitality. Finally, the Economics chapter estimates levels of capital investment needed for successful development. Specifically, this chapter includes projections of increases in employment and economic output based on an annual level of capital investment of around \$3.3 billion per year for a cumulative total of some \$33 billion over the first decade of independence (and \$50 billion over the period 2004–2019 considered in the chapter).

Using an accounting growth model at this assumed level of investment and assuming the changes in the Palestinian labor force and in total factor productivity specified in the Economics chapter, the model yields projections of future employment and Palestinian national income per capita. The capital costs of the estimates above (e.g., water projects, health and education infrastructure, roads, the seaport and airport, and the electric power systems) would be subsumed in these projections of gross fixed capital investment. However, operating costs, such as salaries of workers at water treatment plants, are not.

Much of this investment will be provided by the Palestinians themselves, especially investment in housing. It is hoped that rapid economic growth will generate revenues that can be applied toward a variety of state building investments, reducing the amount that must be raised from international donations. Nonetheless, a substantial share of this investment in gross fixed capital is likely to be financed from abroad, especially in the early years.

Donor Funding and the Costs of Creating a Viable Palestinian State

This book provides a number of cost estimates of individual elements of a Palestinian state. However, it does not provide an estimate of the likely *total* costs of creating the new state. Nonetheless, some of the projections and estimates help explore these costs.

⁴ As above, cost estimates in other chapters consider natural population growth but assume zero net migration. The cost estimates for several chapters, including Chapter Three, are directly proportional to population size (so that a 10 percent increase in population would increase costs by 10 percent, given the methods used in those chapters); this is also true for education costs, but with respect to specific age subgroups rather than the population overall.

The Economics chapter estimates that gross fixed capital investment of \$3.3 billion per year will be needed over the first decade of statehood to generate the posited gains in employment. This aggregate figure includes all investment, whether funded by domestic or foreign sources. It exceeds the individual estimates of costs for the seaport, airport, connecting road, and improvements in the electric power system; the capital costs of expanding water and sewage systems; and even the costs of improving health care and education—many of which are operating rather than investment costs. Thus, this economic analysis of the Palestinian economy indicates that the individual cost estimate totals reasonably align with overall investment needs.

Although both cost-estimating approaches (analogical and parametric) help us estimate the financial challenge of creating a new state, neither approach distinguishes between resources provided by the Palestinians themselves and those that may be requested from foreign donors. To roughly determine the magnitude of funding that might be requested, we have resorted to the use of "reasonable" analogies: the amount of foreign funding that has been required to reconstruct Bosnia and Kosovo.

Like Palestine, these two entities suffered considerable damage from conflicts. Both have attracted considerable international interest and assistance. Both have had some success in creating democratic governments and revitalizing the local economies. In the first two years following the signing of peace accords in Bosnia and Kosovo, foreign assistance (grants and loans) averaged \$714 and \$433, respectively, per person per year. Applying these per-capita figures to the projected population of Palestine, an analogous inflow of assistance would range from \$1.6 billion to \$2.7 billion in the first year, rising to \$2.1 to \$3.5 billion by 2014 as a result of increases in the population (see Table 9.2). Over the ten-year period between 2005 and 2014, total flows of foreign assistance to a new Palestinian state analogous with those that have been granted to Kosovo and Bosnia would run from \$18.8 billion to \$31.1 billion. These dollar totals include all areas estimated in our study plus some others (e.g., transportation) that were beyond the scope of the present study.

By comparison, the World Bank estimated that the total volume of international aid to the West Bank and Gaza was \$1.051 billion in 2002 and \$0.929 billion in 2001. Thus the amount of aid required in Palestine based on the Kosovo analogy would represent more than a 50 percent increase for 2005, relative to the 2002 level of international aid to the West Bank and Gaza, while aid based on the Bosnia analogy would require more than doubling the level of aid received in 2002.

Although large, this magnitude of costs is certainly sustainable through concerted international cooperation.

⁵ The World Bank figures are in then-year U.S. dollars; World Bank, West Bank and Gaza Update, April-June 2003.

Table 9.2 Aid Flows Analogous to Bosnia and Kosovo

Year	Estimated Palestinian Population	Total Aid (millions of 2003 dollars)	
		Bosnia Analogy	Kosovo Analogy
2005	3,761,904	2,688	1,627
2006	3,889,249	2,779	1,683
2007	4,018,332	2,871	1,738
2008	4,149,173	2,964	1,795
2009	4,281,766	3,059	1,852
2010	4,416,076	3,155	1,910
2011	4,547,678	3,249	1,967
2012	4,676,579	3,341	2,023
2013	4,807,137	3,434	2,080
2014	4,939,223	3,529	2,137
Total		31,068	18,813

In Conclusion

At the time of this writing, the prospects for establishing an independent Palestinian state are uncertain. U.S. attention, without which a negotiated settlement between Palestinians and Israelis seems unlikely, has been primarily focused on Iraq to date. Nevertheless, a critical mass of Palestinians and Israelis—as well as the United States, Russia, the European Union, and the United Nations—remain committed to the goal of establishing a Palestinian state. Additionally, U.S. experience in Iraq and Afghanistan can only reinforce the value of having plans in place for the eventuality of an independent Palestine. The death of Yasser Arafat in November 2004, which spurred both Palestinians and the wider world to focus on the future of the region, may yet turn this eventuality into a more imminent reality.

Our book is not a prediction that peace will come soon. We firmly believe, however, that thoughtful preparation can help make peace possible. And when peace comes, this preparation will be essential to the success of the new state. This book is designed to help Palestinians, Israelis, and the international community—the United States, its Quartet partners, and Palestine's Arab neighbors—prepare for the moment when the parties are ready to create and sustain a successful Palestinian state.

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Appendix 9.A: Major Infrastructure Investments

This appendix describes how we assessed the potential costs of developing the Palestinian road network, including a road to connect Gaza and the West Bank; a commercial seaport in Gaza; rehabilitation and expansion of the airport in Gaza; and upgrading and expanding the electric power grid. Detailed examination of these areas was outside the scope of this project.

Road Improvements

A good system of roads is essential to efficiently move people and goods within a Palestinian state and between Palestine and its neighbors. The West Bank and Gaza currently have an extensive system of roads, but the quality varies considerably. Palestine will need both more and better roads.

The West Bank and Gaza will also need suitable transportation links. Currently, Palestinians cannot move freely between the two areas. However, because road or rail connections would cross Israeli territory, they would have to be designed to ensure Israel's security.

A number of proposals have been made for a road and/or train connecting the West Bank and Gaza. One proposal envisages constructing an elevated road traversing the 47 kilometers from Beit Hanoun to Dura, referred to as the southern safe passage route. According to former Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak, the high end estimated cost of an elevated roadway of 47 kilometers is \$10 billion. A traditional road would be considerably cheaper, potentially as little as \$200 million, according to the Palestinian Economic Council for Development and Reconstruction. Israeli newspaper Ha'aretz cites another estimate by the Israeli Public Works Authority of \$1 billion for a connecting road, which we consider to be a more realistic estimate than either of the two extremes.6

An alternative approach to using these estimates is to estimate the cost of constructing a road running through Israel lined on both sides by a security fence. We have created our own rough cost estimate assuming that the road would have to be lined on both sides with a security wall akin to the West Bank separation barrier currently being built by Israel. The cost of that barrier is reported to be approximately \$2.2-\$3.3 million per kilometer. Assuming that this is an appropriate costing analogue, fencing both sides of a 47-kilometer road would cost between \$207 and \$310 million; this would be in addition to the costs of constructing the road itself and the costs of overor underpasses connecting Israeli territory north and south of the road. Depending on

⁶ Akiva Eldar, "There Is No Such Thing as a Magic Bridge," Ha'aretz, October 6, 1999.

^{7 &}quot;Cost of Fence Could Rise to NIS 15 Million Per Kilometer," Ha'aretz, February 23, 2004.

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the number of intersections, the costs of building these passages could add appreciably to the total costs.

Gaza Seaport

Currently, all seaborne shipments of goods and services entering or leaving the West Bank and Gaza go through Israeli ports. If security concerns are resolved, a future Palestinian state would likely build a port for Gaza to facilitate trade. On April 20, 2000, before the second intifada, a contract for the development of a 20,000-square-meter Gaza seaport was tendered.8 A Gaza port would be designed to handle commercial vessels of up to 35,000 deadweight tons, with a total throughput of one million tons a year.9 While this volume is smaller than Israeli ports—Ashdod and Haifa have annual throughput of 16.5 million and 15 million tons of cargo, respectively 10—it would probably be adequate for the needs of a Palestinian state during its first decade of existence. Construction costs for a port of this size were estimated at \$62 million in 2000.11 We note that the actual costs of such large public infrastructure projects are often higher than initially estimated. Construction was expected to take 25 months to complete; for this reason, and because the Palestinian government might choose to invest in a larger port, this cost estimate should be viewed as a lower rather than a midpoint estimate.

Airport

The government of a Palestinian state may choose to construct an airport capable of handling commercial aircraft. An airport was built in Gaza in 1998 at a cost of \$64 million.12 The runway was 3,080 meters in length and could accommodate aircraft up to and including wide-bodied jumbo jets.13 However, the airport was heavily damaged by Israeli forces during the second intifada, and it will require significant repair before it can be used again. In the summer of 2003, the Palestinian Authority's Transport and

⁸ The Economist Intelligence Unit, Country Profile: Palestinian Territories, London, p. 23.

^{9 &}quot;Dutch to Build Harbor at Gaza," Dredging News Online, Vol. 1, No. 28, May 26, 2000; and The Economist Intelligence Unit, Country Profile: Palestinian Territories, London, p. 23.

¹⁰ Lloyds Register, Fairplay Ports and Terminals Guide, CD-ROM, 2003.

^{11 &}quot;Full Steam Ahead at Gaza Port," Middle East Economic Digest, May 12, 2000. Construction of the Gaza seaport never began because of the second intifada.

^{12 &}quot;Palestinians Get Their Wings," The Economist, November 7, 1998, p. 46.

¹³ See http://www.gaza-airport.org/about1.html.

Communications Minister cited the figure of \$35 million as the estimated outlay to repair and reopen the airport. ¹⁴ To our knowledge, the Gaza airport was never equipped to handle substantial commercial traffic, which would require additional investment.

Electric Power Grid

In a 1999 needs assessment, the World Bank master plan "identified investment requirements over the next ten years (exclusive of generation and new transmission lines) totaling more than \$600 million" for Palestine. The costs of building generating capacity and new transmission lines would be appreciably more than this figure, especially if the Palestinians were to replace Israeli generating capacity with indigenous plants.

^{14 &}quot;Israel Said to Agree 'in Principle' to Gaza Airport Rehabilitation," BBC Monitoring, July 9, 2003.

¹⁵ World Bank, Project Appraisal Document on a Proposed Trust Fund Credit in the Amount of \$15.0 Million to the West Bank and Gaza for an Electric Sector Investment and Management Project, Report No. 19603-GZ, August 12, 1999, p. 17.

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